/6 cont./
obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirišna.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

114 103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

174 184 [103] With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

[172] [323] river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
●323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

/202 cont./

572 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports [593] that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound [727] their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife [184] has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirionna (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots,[8] and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[9]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411 321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534 321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411 322 [824] [239] [412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322 412 [239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

● 323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/457 cont./

323 [114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip upriver I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [935] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few [888] [958] [855] miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 • 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [443] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [420] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

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[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
179 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[104] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[599] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

484 752 The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

484 221 628 132 Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] 484 499 If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

323 TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very [562] easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[165] [2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[361] [3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pïjïpaan*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiha*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiha*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mõmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mõmariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mõmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ13 Yanoama SQ13

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Duiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mömariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwaraoba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mömaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from